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# Message Text

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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 PA-04

RSC-01 USIA-15 PRS-01 SP-03 DRC-01 /050 W
---------- 096059
R 050600Z APR 74
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1080
INFO CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E. O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PINT JA
SUBJECT: KYOTO GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION

SUMMARY: WHILE INCUMBENT TORAZO NINAGAWA IS STILL FAVORED IN APRIL 7 KYOTO GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION, POLITICAL OBSERVERS DO NOT RULE OUT POSSIBILITY OF UPSENT VICTORY BY CHALLENGER KAZUTAKA OHASHI.

1. POLITICAL OBSERVERS STILL BELIEVE NINAGAWA WILL WIN KYOTO GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION ON APRIL 7. HOWEVER, GOVERNOR'S CAMPAIGN OFFICIALS REPORTEDLY FEEL THAT ELECTION WILL BE MORE DIFFICULT THAN FIRST ANTICIPATED AND DEFINITELY MORE DIFFICULT THAN 1970 CONTEST WHEN NINAGAWA HANDILYDEFEATED DP CHALLENGER, BACKED BY KOMEITO AND DSP. WHILE JCP IS PLAYING VIGOROUS LEADING ROLE IN NINAGAWA CAMPAIGN, MANAGERS ARE WORRIED ABOUT IMPACT OF JSP SPIT AND SOME LABOR UNION DEFECTIONS. UNENCUMBERED BY INTERNAL DISPUTES OVER NINAGAWA CANDIDACY AND NOT INVOLVED IN COMPLI-CATED INTER-PARTY MANEUVERING SURROUNDING APRIL 21 UPPER HOUSE BY-ELECTION, JSP HAS UTILIZED ITS EFFECTIVE AND WELL ENTRENCHED ORGANIZATION TO MARSHAL NINAGAWA VOTES. PARTY REPORTEDLY BELIEVES IT HAS 300,000 VOTES OF ITS OWN AND 150,000 FROM OTHER PARTIES DEFINITELY LINED UP FOR NINAGAWA (WHO WON WITH 636,000 IN 1970).
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2. OHASHI SUPPORTERS ARE INCREASINGLY OPTIMISTIC THAT THEIR MAN HAS CHANCE TO UPSET INCUMBENT AND CLAIM THERE IS RISING MOOD OF SUPPORT FOR CHALLENGER AMONG KYOTO VOTERS, WEARIED BY 24 YEARS OF NINAGAWA REGIME. AS EVIDENCE THEY CITE DECISIONS BY MAIZURU CITY SOHYO CHAPTER AND HITACHI SHIPBUILDING UNION TO OPPOSE NINAGAWA, ALONG WITH SIMILAR ACTIONS BY ELEMENTS IN NUMBER OF OTHER SOHYO-AFFILIATED UNIONS. THEY ARE ALSO ENCOURGARED BY MOVE ON  PART OF KYOTO DOCTORS' ASSOCIATION TO AID OHASHI (HIMSELF DOCTOR). UNLIKE JCP, HOWEVER, OHASHI CAMP IS HAVING TROUBLE CALCULATING POTENTIAL VOTE TOTAL, LARGELY BECAUSE OF INABILITY TO PREDICT BREAK-OUT OF JSP, LDP AND KOMEITO VOTES.

3. JSP WHICH TRIED BUT FAILED TO AVERT OHASHI ELECTION BID AND WHICH HAS BECOME ENTANGLED IN RESULTANT INTRA-PARTY STRIFE OVER HIS CANDIDACY DID NOT GET ITS OFFICIAL KYOTO CAMPAIGN UNDERWAY UNTIL MARCH 23. WITH KYOTO JSP DIVIDED INTO PRO-HEADQUARTERS, PRO-OHASHI, AND NEUTRAL FACTIONS, PARTY HAS REPORTEDLY EXPERIENCED DIFFICULTY IN ASSUMING MAJOR ROLE IN NINAGAWA CAMPAIGN. LOCAL PARTY APPARATUS IS OBVIOUSLY WEAKENED BY DEPARTURE OF OHASHI ADHERENTS WHO, IGNORING EXPULSIONS FROM PARTY AND THREATS OF EXPULSION, HAVE FAILED TO RETURN TO FOLD. JSP'S KYOTO PROBLEMS ARE COMPOUNDED BY INTRA-PARTY CONTROVERSY OVER DECISION TO RUN PARTY CANDIDATE IN UPPER HOUSE BY-ELECTION, WITH EVEN SOME HEADQUARTERS LEADERS ARGUING THAT DEFEAT IN THAT ELECTION WILL FURTHER DAMAGE JSP PROSPECTS IN ELECTIONS LATER THIS SUMMER. MOREOEVER, JSP OPERATIONS IN KYOTO HAVE BEEN UNDERCUT, NOT ONLY BY ACTIVITIES OF LOCAL JSP DISSIDENTS, BUT BY THOSE OF EDA FACTION ADHERENTS FROM OUTSIDE KYOTO (INCLUDING SEVERAL DIET MEMBERS) WHO HAVE STUMPED FOR OHASHI. EDA HIMSELF, AFTER TRANSPARENTLY INSINCERE EFFORT TO DISSUADE OHASHI FORM RUNNING, HAS INFORMALLY AND THEN OPENLY (APRIL 2) PROMOTED OHASHI CANDIDACTY. JCP REPS HAVE REPORTEDLY CONCEDED THAT JSP PREOCCUPATION WITH PARTY SPLIT IS HANDICAPPING NINAGAWA CAMPAIGN. OHASHI IS SAID TO BELIEVE THAT HE MAY RECEIVE AS MUCH AS TWO-THIRDS OF THE JSP VOTE OF 220 - 230,000 (1972 LOWER HOUSE ELECTION). MEANWHILE, JSP NATIONAL LEADERSHIP IS MAKING ALL-OUT EFFORT FOR NINAGAWA, WITH NARITA AND OTHER LUMINARIES SHUTTLING IN AND OUT OF KYOTO TO STUMP FOR GOVERNOR.

4. LDP, WHICH CONSISTENTLY FAILED IN SOLO EFFORTS TO UNSEAT
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NINAGAWA, IS PROVIDING LOW-PROFILE SUPPORT TO OHAHI. ASSUMING CERTAIN DEFEAT IN EVENT IT RAN OWN CANDIDATE, LDP HAS SEIZED ON OHASHI CANDIDACY AS OBVIOUS OPPORTUNITY TO WIDEN BREACH IN OPPOSITION RANKS AND, CONCEIVABLY, TO OUST ARCH FOE NINAGAWA. ALL-OUT CAMPAIGNING IN OHASHI'S BEHALF, HOWEVER, IS INHIBITED BY LDP RULES PROHIBITING OFFICIAL SUPPORT TO NON-PARTY-ENDORESED CANDIDATES. MOREOVER, FLAUTING OF LDP SUPPORT WOULD DAMAGE OHASHI'S REFORMIST IMAGE. CONSEQUENTLY, LDP IS LIMITING

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ITSELF TO INDIRECT SLOGANS SUCH AS QTE LET'S CHANGE GOVERNOR UNQTE AND OSTENSIBLY FOCUSING ON UPPER HOUSE BY-ELECTION CAMPAIGN. HOWEVER, LATTER VEHICLE IS CLEARLY BEING USED TO BOOST OHASHI. ADDITIONALLY, THERE ARE RECURRING (AND PLAUSIBLE) RUMORS THAT LDP IS PROVIDING OHASHI WITH ELECTION FUNDS. SUCH ACTIVITIES HAVE ENCOUNTERED INTERNAL LDP RESISTANCE, NOTABLY FROM SEIRANKAI WHICH ARGUES, WHATEVER TACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS MIGHT BE, LDP BACKING FOR AVOWED SOCIALIST IS UNTHINKABLE AND LDP SHOULD RUN OWN CANDIDATE. PARTY LEADERS HAVE COUNTERED THAT COOPERATION WITH OHASHI CAMP IS LIKE SAT-CHO ALLIANCE NECESSARY TO OVERTHROW NINAGAWA BAKUFU. MANY RANK AND FILE MEMBERS REPORTEDLY ARE UNCONVINCED BY SUCH LOGIC, DESPITE DISTASTE FOR NINAGAWA. CONSEQUENTLY, ALTHOUGH OHASHI CAMPAIGNERS ARE OPTIMISTIC, IT IS DIFFICULT TO PREDICT EXTENT TO WHICH 300,000 LDP VOTERS (1972 GENERAL ELECTION) WILL GO TO POLLS TO VOTE FOR JSP MAVERICK AND EXTENT TO WHICH THEY WILL STAY HOME AND NOT VOTE AT ALL.

5. WHILE BOTH SIDES SOLICITED ITS SUPPORT EARLY ON, KOMEITO HAS FORMALLY PROCLAIMED NEUTRALITY AND REPEATEDLY STATED THAT MEMBERS ARE FREE TO VOTE FOR WHICHEVER CANDIDATE THEY PREFER. HOWEVER, ALTHOUGH KOMEITO HAS BEEN LEARY OF TARNISHING INCHOATE REFORMIST IMAGE BY OPENLY MAKING COMMON CAUSE WITH LDP, ITS PRO-OHASHI POSTURE IS OBVIOUS. KOMEITO LEADERSHIP'S ANTIPATHY FOR JCP AND IRRITATION AT JSP ENDORSEMENT OF NINAGAWA ALONE WOULD PROBABLY BE ENOUGH TO TILT KOMEITO TOWARD OHASHI. MOREOVER, OHASHI JSP DISSIDENTS AND DSP ALLIES HAVE PROFFERED ADDITONAL ENTICEMENT OF SUPPORT FOR KOMEITO CANDIDATE IN UPPER HOUSE BY-ELECTION. JCP AND JSP, EACH WITH OWN CANDIDATE IN THAT ELECTION CAN, OF COURSE, MAKE NO SUCH OFFER.

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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 PA-04

RSC-01 USIA-15 PRS-01 SP-03 DRC-01 /050 W
---------- 095930
R 050600Z APR 74
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1081

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6. ON MARCH 29, KOMEITO CHAIRMAN TAKEIRI, IN KYOTO FOR START OF BY-ELECTION CAMPAIGN, TOLD PRESS (NOT FOR FIRST TIME) HE OPPOSED 7TH TERM FOR NINAGAWA BECAUSE HE HAD OCCUPIED GOVERNORSHIP TOO LONG AND FULLY QTE UNDERSTOOD UNQTE WHY OHASHI WAS CHALLENGING INCUMBENT. SUCH STATEMENTS LEND CREDENCE TO REPORTED PRIVATE ASSERTION BY OHASHI THAT HE HAD BEEN PROMI ED FULL SUPPORT BY KOMEITO LEADERSHIP AND WOULD RECEIVE ALL OF THAT PARTY'S 130,000 OR SO VOTES. SOME OBSERVERS, HOWEVER, QUESTION ABILITY OF KOMEITO TO DELIVER IN KYOTO ON GROUNDS THAT PARTY BACKERS THERE HAVE STRONGER REFORMIST INCLINATIONS THAN ELSEWHERE IN JAPAN. TAKEIRI HIMSELF (IN ANOTHER CONTEXT) TOLD EMBOFFS THAT SOME, ESPECIALLY YOUNGER, KOMEITO MEMBERS QUESTION CORRECTNESS OF LEADERSHIP'S STRONG ANTI-JCP POSTURE. THEREFORE, WHILE OHASHI MAY DRAW WELL FORM KOMEITO PARTISANS, HIS OWN ESTIMATE COULD BE OVERLY OPTIMISTIC.

7. DSP HAS TAKEN UNAMBIGUOUS STAND BACKING OHASHI AND, IN ADDITION TO DIRECT PARTICIPATION IN CAMPAIGN, HAS PLAYED ROLE IN EFFORT TO ENLIST KOMEITO IN OHASHI RANKS. DSP ZEAL SEEMS SOMEWHAT DIMINISHED BY MEBERS'S IMPRESSION THAT THEY ARE ENGAGED IN LOSING BATTLE. CHAIRMAN KASUGA RECENTLY TOLD EMBOFFS THAT ODDS WERE 60 - 40 IN FAVOR OF NINAGAWA. HE ALSO EXPRESSED DISSATISFACTION WITH EDA'S RELUCTANCE TO PUBLICLY ENDORSE OHASHI, IMPLYING THAT IT HURT OHASHI'S CHANCES. STILL, ALTHOUGH DSP CAMPAIGN EFFORT HAS NOT BEEN PARTICULARLY IMPRESSIVE, VIRTUALLY ALL OF PARTY VOTE (150,000 IN 1972 GENERAL ELECTION) IS
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EXPECTED TO GO TO OHASHI.

8. COMMENT: WHILE CONSENSUS OF INFORMED POLITICAL OBSERVERS IS THAT CRUCIAL FACTOR IN ELECTION WILL BE ABILITY OR INABILITY OF OHASHI TO DRAW HEAVY LDP AND KOMEITO VOTER SUPPORT, PERMUTATIONS OF POSSIBLE PARTY BY PARTY VOTES SPLITS MAKE PREDICTION OF ELECTION OUTCOME DIFFICULT. THERE IS, HOWEVER, AGREEMENT THAT APRIL 7 ELECTION MAY BE NINAGAWA'S MOST DIFFICULT IN SEVEN CAMPAINGS.
SHOESMITH

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# Message Attributes

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**Channel Indicators:** n/a
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED
**Concepts:** ELECTIONS, ELECTION CANDIDATES, ELECTION FORECASTS, POLITICAL PARTIES
**Control Number:** n/a
**Copy:** SINGLE
**Draft Date:** 05 APR 1974
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960
**Decaption Note:**
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED
**Disposition Approved on Date:**
**Disposition Authority:** morefirh
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004
**Disposition Event:**
**Disposition History:** n/a
**Disposition Reason:**
**Disposition Remarks:**
**Document Number:** 1974TOKYO04509
**Document Source:** CORE
**Document Unique ID:** 00
**Drafter:** n/a
**Enclosure:** n/a
**Executive Order:** N/A
**Errors:** N/A
**Film Number:** D740077-0124
**From:** TOKYO
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a
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**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a
**Page Count:** 4
**Previous Channel Indicators:**
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**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a
**Reference:** n/a
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED
**Review Authority:** morefirh
**Review Comment:** n/a
**Review Content Flags:**
**Review Date:** 30 JUL 2002
**Review Event:**
**Review Exemptions:** n/a
**Review History:** RELEASED <30 JUL 2002 by kelleyw0>; APPROVED <01 AUG 2002 by morefirh>
**Review Markings:**

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US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**
**Review Referrals:** n/a
**Review Release Date:** n/a
**Review Release Event:** n/a
**Review Transfer Date:**
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a
**Secure:** OPEN
**Status:** NATIVE
**Subject:** KYOTO GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION SUMMARY: WHILE INCUMBENT TORAZO NINAGAWA IS STILL FAVORED IN
**TAGS:** PINT, JA
**To:** STATE
**Type:** TE
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

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